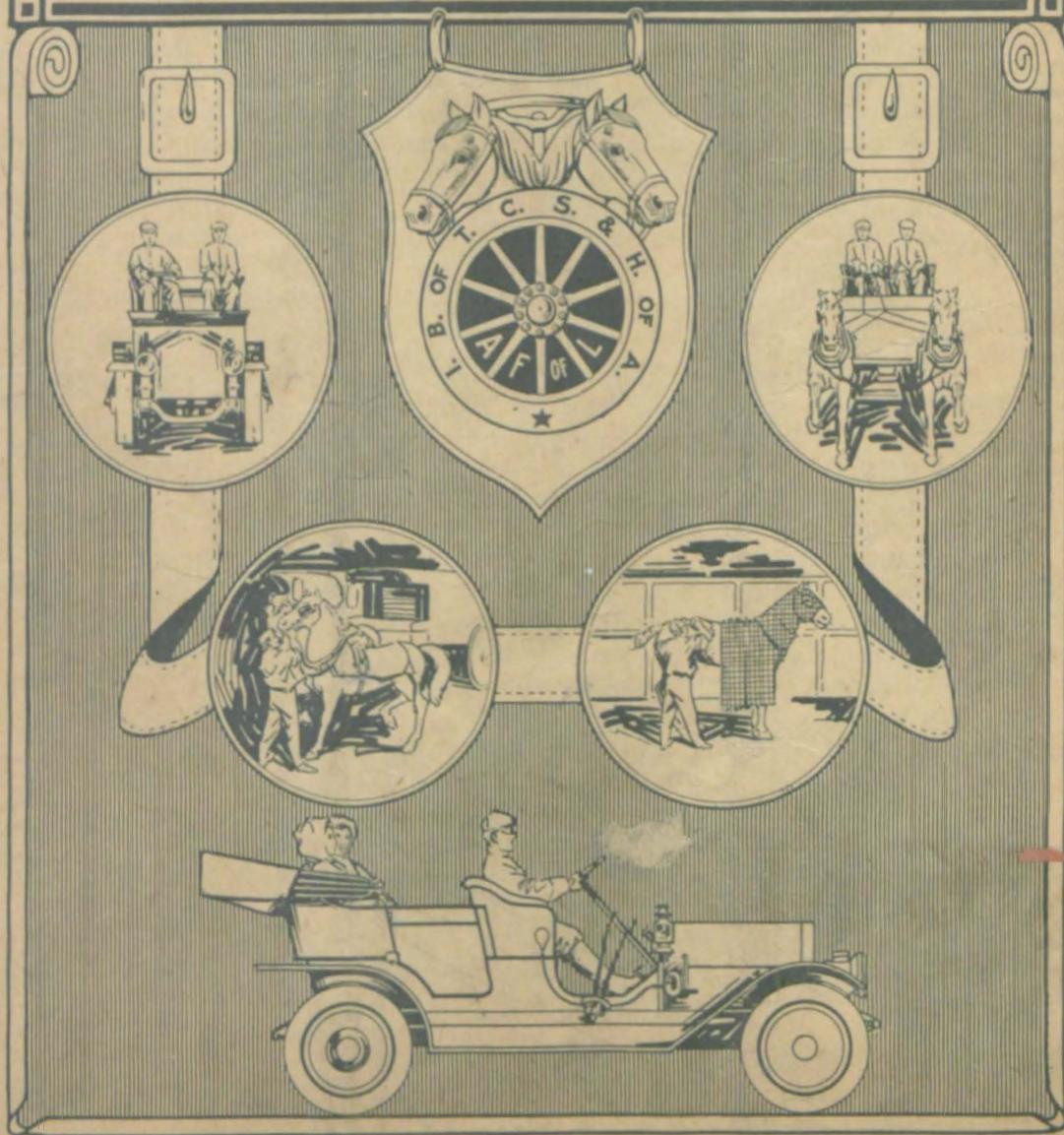


MAY, 1917

THE OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF
INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD
TEAMSTERS · CHAUFFEURS
STABLEMEN AND HELPERS
OF AMERICA



While prices on foodstuff are soaring away up in the air, do not become frightened. Do not run to the bank and pull out the few dollars you have there and buy large stores of food. This will only help the speculator. Buy as you go, or as you have been doing in the past. It is almost impossible to understand how prices have gone to where they are, but we should remember that we are supplying the world with food, or endeavoring to do so. You would think at least that the preservation of the people in our own country would be the first consideration of our government. If a condition similar to ours existed in any other country legislation would immediately be enacted to remedy the situation. It is useless to be making appeals to money sharks or food speculators for justice. The world is selfish. If this condition continues, that is, prices continue to increase it may be the best thing that ever happened in this country, because the multitude may force Washington to enact legislation whereby the government may take over the food problem of the nation and see to it that the poor people are properly fed. It will also have the effect of establishing economy among the people and there will not be so much foodstuff wasted. Everyone will realize the necessity of saving, so after all there is no great need for becoming discouraged. Out of all this turmoil some good may result.

Help us to organize and stick closer together than we are doing, if it is possible. It will take every man working at our trade to hold his union together during the next two years. Let every man attend the meetings of his union. Be ever watchful and careful. Above all, allow no dissension or division to take place among you. We are just entering into a game that is going to try every ounce of strength and intelligence that we possess; so the advice of your President and Editor is, that no matter what has happened in the past; no matter what your feelings are, now is the time to stick to your union, to attend its meetings and be very careful about entering into trouble. Do not be too anxious to pick a quarrel. Unless things change materially you will have plenty of chance to fight a legitimate battle for the life of your organization before the days of trouble have entirely passed over.

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**INTERNATIONAL·BROTHERHOOD
OF·TEAMSTERS·CHAUFFEURS
·STABLEMEN AND HELPERS·**



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HOW THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND RAILROAD BROTHERHOODS STAND



INCE the ride of Paul Revere the union carpenter of revolutionary days, the workers of America have always been in the forefront of patriotic struggles, whether of peace or of war.

With the shadow of war already settled upon the land the American workers face the biggest tasks of patriotism that have ever confronted them.

Shall the war (if war is here) be for democracy at home as well as abroad? Shall the United States engage in the war and conduct it and emerge from it with its citizens freer than they have ever been, with social and industrial justice more securely founded than they have ever been? Or will this critical and perilous period see democracy less secure, wealth and power in the hands of the few more concentrated, and the advance toward a truer civilization set back perhaps a generation?

This is a tremendous issue and it is already being met with tremendous energy. It is a time of historic documents and historic actions.

Anticipating three weeks ago the probability of war, the Ameri-

can Federation of Labor and the railroad Brotherhoods defined this issue of democracy at a momentous conference and in a momentous utterance. "Whether in peace or in war," declared the Federation and the Brotherhoods, "the organized labor movement seeks to make all else subordinate to human welfare and human opportunity. The labor movement stands as the defender of this principle and undertakes to protect the wealth producers against the exorbitant greed of special interests, against profiteering, against exploitation, against the detestable methods of irresponsible greed, against inhumanity and crime of heartless corporations and employers."

Pledging the unstinted loyalty of the workers in any development of the national crisis the organized labor leaders declared: "Workers have no delusions regarding the policy which property owners and exploiting employers pursue in peace or in war, and they also recognize that, wrapped up with the safety of this republic are ideals of democracy, a heritage which the masses of the people received from our forefathers, who fought that liberty might live in this country.

* * * The labor movement recognizes the value of freedom and it knows that freedom and rights can be maintained only by those willing to assert their claims and to defend their rights."

They asserted that whether planning for peace or war, the government must recognize the organized labor movement as the agency through which it must co-operate with wage earners. They demanded that labor union standards of wages and conditions of labor and organization for the assertion and maintenance of wage earners' rights should be the only legalized standards of industrial preparedness in conjunction with military mobilization. "We hold this to be incontrovertible," labor's document

declared, "that the government which demands that men and women give their labor power, their bodies or their lives to its service should also demand the service in the interest of these human beings, of all wealth and the products of human toil—property." The limitation of all profits "to be based on costs of processes actually needed for product," was demanded.

Almost simultaneously the North Dakota legislature adopted a memorial to Congress, declared that the "principles of equity, justice and freedom upon which this government is founded," demanded that all the property useful and necessary to the government in carrying on the war be used during the war without compensation and be surrendered after the war to the owners, "such property to include factories, shipyards, munition plants, armor plate mills, flour mills, arms factories, supplies and equipment, cloth factories and such other property and money as the government may require." So that "citizens of wealth may be enabled and compelled to contribute to the common welfare and need of their country on the same terms as the enlisted soldiers and sailors who give their lives and their all."

The same memorial was later adopted and promulgated by the Non-Partisan League, having a membership of more than 100,000 farmers of the middle northwestern States.

Patriotism that offers its life and its labor is demanding in this and other ways, and through other voices, that special privilege shall not be permitted to take blood money from war, but that, on the contrary, the war shall be a spur to democracy and overthrow the burdens of privilege not only for the war, but for the succeeding times.

Typical of these demands, Owen R. Lovejoy, Amos Pinchot and John L. Elliott, of an American

committee on war finance, have sent broadcast a pledge to be signed by all citizens who will, and demanding:

1. That, in case of war, all net incomes of \$5,000 or over shall be subject to the following annual graduated war contributions: On all net incomes from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a contribution of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On all incomes over \$10,000 a year a contribution increasing on a sliding scale, beginning at 10 per cent. and rising to a point which will permit of no individual retaining an annual net income in excess of \$100,000 during the war.

2. That no war supplies or war service, including transportation, shall be furnished to the government at a net profit of more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

3. That no wholesale or retail dealer shall sell food or other basic necessities of life during the war at a larger profit than 6 per cent.

The President of the United States, at his first statement of the need of war, declared also the necessity of vigilance for democracy. He warned, by implication at least, against permitting the war to be a medium of greed and exploitation. He cautioned against vast loans whose inflation of credits would add a grievous load of debt and insecurity for generations to come upon the people.

The emphasis of all public thought and feeling of genuine patriots will now be upon this issue of democracy and liberty. It was

such groups of workers and fighters as the Welsh miners and their equivalent groups in the other countries of Europe who threw such safeguards around liberty as still prevail in the war-stricken countries of Europe. The miners answered the unworthy taunts of English employers at the beginning of England's participation in the war by saying that they would work without wages if the employers would give their coal without compensation. It was the Seamen's Union of Great Britain who showed from the official shipping records that since the war began the freight charges on wheat imported into the country were from two to three times as high as the value of the wheat itself.

Our own previous wars have attested the shameful fact that great fortunes are founded by the exploitation of the people in war. The enormous fortunes made in America in the supply of munitions to the European belligerents are further proofs that greed uses war as well as peace for its plunderings. The efforts of banking interests to place great and enduring debts upon the producing classes to pay for supplies sold at enormous profits are a further warning of what this country will encounter unless the counter-efforts of labor and those who stand with labor shall make their power prevail in Congress.—Dante Barton.

TO ALL LOYAL AMERICANS—WILL YOU STAND BY YOUR COUNTRY?



N war the country needs two things: Men and money.

Rich and poor must be ready to make patriotic sacrifices. But the poor man will make the greatest sacrifices. He will do

the bulk of the fighting, because he forms the bulk of the population. He will offer to his country more than life itself—for, if killed or disabled, he leaves his wife and children helpless, dependent on charity or the state.

But war does not only demand its toll of human life. It requires

a limitless expenditure of money. Never in the history of wars has money been so necessary to military success. (Great Britain alone is spending thirty-five million dollars a day as her share of the war's expense.)

What, then, is the duty of all citizens of means, those who have a comfortable surplus, and especially all who will remain at home protected by the sacrifice of the nation's young manhood? The least that can be done by the men and women with bank accounts, the men too old to fight, and all other people of means who do not go to the front, is to bear their share of the nation's burdens by the free and prompt offering of their wealth to the nation's cause. America needs more than spoken loyalty from its citizens who stay at home. It needs real support.

The burden of fighting must be carried by those who are physically strong and fit to fight. The burden of finance must be borne by those who are financially strong and able to give. Above all, the war must be paid for as it proceeds, in dollars as well as in lives. There must be no crushing legacy of bonded debt to be paid in taxes by the men who have done the fighting and their children. Let us make this a cash war, a pay-as-you-enter war. Let all loyal citizens who have incomes above their immediate necessities volunteer their wealth.

The people of the United States have never failed to respond to their country's need. They never will. In our civil war a million men (a quarter of a whole population of military age) volunteered at Lincoln's call during the first year. But the nation's private fortunes did not volunteer. They declared for patriotism, while they profited on the country's necessity. Congressional committees disclosed gigantic graft and thefts

from the government in war contracts. The public need not be reminded of the experiences during the Spanish-American war. Let us not forget these bitter lessons of history.

JOHN L. ELLIOTT,
OWEN R. LOVEJOY,
A. J. MCKELWAY,
AMOS PINCHOT,
E. W. SCRIPPS.

PLEDGE.

I hereby demand that the Congress of the United States shall immediately enact legislation providing substantially for the following war measures:

1. That there shall be levied on all net incomes in excess of \$2,000 (for unmarried persons) and in excess of \$3,000 (for married persons) an annual war tax, beginning at 2 per cent. and increasing on a sliding scale to a point which will permit of no individual retaining an annual net income in excess of \$100,000, such war tax to continue until all bonds, treasury notes and other obligations issued for war purposes are paid.
2. That all war supplies or war service, including transportation, shall be furnished to the government at a reasonable profit, to be fixed by Congress.
3. That Congress shall enact legislation preventing the sale of necessities of life during the war at excessive profits.
4. That intentional failure to supply the government with correct figures as to income or as to profits on such sales and service and that furnishing the government with defective war supplies shall be a felony, punishable by imprisonment.

I pledge myself to support and use my influence, in so far as I am able, to further the prompt enactment into law of such measures.



EDITORIAL

(By Daniel J. Tobin.)

AT the last meeting of the Milk Wagon Drivers' Union of Chicago an attempt was made by some of the members to open up the wage scale, using several excuses for same. However, when the officers of the union, who thoroughly understand the law of organized labor and realize the importance of any movement of this kind, explained the situation to a very large meeting of their membership, the proposition to open up the scale was almost unanimously voted down. First, let it be distinctly understood that if there is anything that Labor stands for at all; if the labor movement means anything at all; if the labor movement has any truth in it, it means that it will abide by its agreements with its employers, and this it has always done with perhaps very few, slight exceptions—although the same cannot be said of many employers' associations.

The milk wagon drivers of Chicago received an increase in wages last year; they signed a three-year agreement, and under all circumstances they are bound to live to that agreement, and if the International can prevent a violation of that agreement we are bound to do so, and we intend to do so. But the milk wagon drivers at their last meeting decided that they had no intention whatever of violating their agreement.

Some unions throughout the country have undoubtedly been hit very hard owing to the increase in the prices of food, but even if we are the losers we must take our medicine and live for better days, until the expiration of our agreements. Encouragement has been given some unions by so-called philanthropic employers who are suggesting the payment of a bonus to the working people. But, as we have said before, the bonus is only a subterfuge and is only offered during the awful period of high prices and immense profits, mostly by employers who will not stand for labor unions in their industries. The bonus system is rather a slippery, oily proposition adopted for the purpose of making the workers believe that the employer is undoubtedly fair and honest with his employes, but just as soon as the immense profits go down the bonus will be withdrawn. Unfortunately workers accept this where they have no other alternative and are entirely unorganized. The increase in wages granted as a result of organization remains with us. It is not a bonus; it is not charity; it is the right that belongs to the workers.

The mine owners of the country, especially in the four competitive States—Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and West Virginia—have recently been offering a bonus to the miners and this has resulted in the General President of the United Mine Workers sending out a circular letter to the men advising against the bonus system. John P. White, the head of the miners' union, suggested an increase in wages, to the mine owners. He said, "If you are sincere in this matter and want to help those poor men, why not grant them a substantial increase in wages, but we want you to distinctly understand that we are not trying to open up

our agreement, or break our agreement." Let it be said in passing that the agreement, or wage scale, of the miners' union runs for two more years. This led to conferences and it was finally decided that they go to New York City and discuss the question of an increase in wages for the miners without attempting to open up the agreement. The result of this conference is yet unknown, but the secret of the whole thing is this: the mine owners have been making immense profits on coal and many of them were recently indicted for fixing prices. If the war continues for any length of time they intend to reap still greater profits, and in order to bluff the American people they have tried to pose in the light of good men, or big-hearted fellows, by suggesting an increase in wages for the miners. Another thing we want our membership to understand that the average miner does not work more than 185 or 200 days each year. In other words, almost all of the mine workers in our country work at piece work. The laborers and others around the mines work on a flat weekly wage, but the real miners work at piece work, and if all of the miners would work every day they could mine enough coal in two hundred days to supply the country for the entire year. So you see that sometimes when there is a strike in the coal industry, unless it lasts a very long time, there is no loss to the mine owners or the miners, because the great big mountain of coal piled at the mouth of the mine is sold and used up at an enormous price. In fact, the mine owners make a profit, using the strike as a pretext for advancing the price of coal. This is the condition of the miners and your Editor is explaining this for the purpose of letting you understand the difference between a driver, or a member of our organization, and a miner. Our men work continuously all year. Then, again, a certain few rich men own the coal mines or the land in which the coal is being mined. Many of the railroad companies own the mines, but the milk distributors, for instance, do not own the milk. In fact, they have to pay a pretty good price for milk they buy from the farmers, and also pay other heavy expenses attached to the distribution of same, such as the maintenance of the equipment.

Now, the writer does not care whether you say he is favoring the employers or not, but we want our members to understand that there are some industries that are at the present time paying almost as much as they can pay, and in the city of Chicago there are a great many of our locals that have reached the maximum in wages, for the present at least, as we can say without fear of contradiction that the profits obtained from the industry are such that the employer cannot afford to pay any more wages than they are now paying. Workingmen will have to come to this point; they must realize that there are two sides to the question, and that the other fellow must be given some consideration. What we do object to are the large concerns that are making immense profits, who are unwilling to pay anything toward making life better or easier for the workingman and his family. We say to our unions—by all means keep your agreements. This is all the labor movement has got—the honor and sacredness of its solemn and binding pledge and obligation. No union can be successful or continue to live that will not keep its promise, its word or signed agreement, not only with the employers, but also with any class with which it may come in contact or with which it may have any dealings.

I HAVE just been talking with Frank Hayes, Vice-President of the United Mine Workers, who has just returned from Colorado, where he was successful in signing up a closed shop agreement covering the entire field where that awful strike existed about two years ago. You all remember how bitterly the employers fought the union in that field. You perhaps remember reading in the Journal of the Ludlow massacre and the exposure of the Rockefeller system in Colorado. Everyone thought the miners were licked, and capital did break up the union for a while. They even had trimmers within their own organization, but that strike where men and women lost their lives was perhaps the best thing that ever happened in the State of Colorado, because it revolutionized the entire life of the working people there. The mine owners were shamed and disgraced before the world, and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as a result of that strike, became interested in the life of the working people of our country. The miners in many of those mines are now working under better conditions under a strictly union shop, and there will never again be any friction between the miners and the employers. The same is true in West Virginia, as John P. White explained to me recently in a conversation the wonderful agreement that he has been successful in signing up in West Virginia covering the miners where they were for twenty-five years endeavoring to organize those men. Organizers were brutally assaulted and beaten almost to death in the days that are past by the thugs and hirelings of the mine owners, and today there is that wonderful spirit of unionism and harmony prevailing and the employers have reached the point where they believe it is better to work in harmony with their employes. This is indeed a victory for Labor. It proves to us that the employers see the foolishness of wasting time, energy and money in fighting the unions. I have on my desk this morning a small book written by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., which explains the necessity of employers and workingmen getting closer together, working in harmony for the betterment of each. He condemns the employer in this book a great deal more than he does the workingman. This is progress. Yes, and every fight entered into by the workers, every struggle made by unions, brings its payment back a hundredfold. So, we say to you, stick to your union; fight for it; do not become discouraged. If you are honest, and fair, and sincere, you are bound to win out in the end.

SINCE our last issue the great railroad strike has been averted, as you already know. At the last moment the United States Supreme Court came in with its decision declaring that the Adamson law establishing the eight-hour day was constitutional.

One word about the United States Supreme Court at this time. I suppose you noticed that the court brought in its decision just at the appropriate time to stop a strike. Have you stopped to ask yourself why the court did not bring in this decision before, or why when they waited so long they did not wait a little longer. The matter of the constitutionality of the law was referred to the court immediately after the passage of the bill—sometime about Labor Day in 1916—and during all those months we never heard anything from the Supreme Court. The law was to go into effect on January 1, but the railroad companies

refused to do anything until the court decided whether or not the law was constitutional. Now, the railroad employes were becoming impatient. It had run over January and February and was pretty well along in March and nothing had been heard from the Supreme Court, so the Brotherhoods decided that they would do something and voted to strike, notifying the railroads that the strike would take place on a certain date. Immediately the Supreme Court got busy and at the eleventh hour they handed down their decision, and the decision, to the surprise of a great many of us, declared that the eight-hour day was constitutional.

As already stated, many of the men of Labor did not expect the United States Supreme Court to render such a decision, because, to be truthful in the matter, a great many of the International labor officials have not much confidence in the United States Supreme Court when it comes to a question of Labor. Perhaps we are prejudiced in this matter, but this is how we feel. However, we were somewhat surprised at the decision and we wonder if there could be anything in the fact that the Supreme Court might be changing its opinion somewhat as a result of the feeling among the people against the court in recent years. I suppose you remember that during the last session of Congress there was more than one bill about to be presented, or was at least drafted—so we are informed—which aimed to trim the wings of the Supreme Court of the United States. In other words, there was an attempt about to be made, or was discussed by congressmen, to enact such legislation, stating that the United States Supreme Court would not have the power to declare any bill unconstitutional which was passed by the United States Senate and Congress and approved by the President. This would be the first step toward trimming the wings of that court, and all you need to do is to get a thing started in this country, or in any other country, along democratic lines and you may rest assured that when the people once become aroused to their own interest that they cannot be stopped very easily until at least the point is carried by the people. This was done in the case of the House of Lords in England. For centuries this parliamentary body believed that there was nothing that could interfere with their power. Today the House of Lords is nothing more than a joke in so far as legislation is concerned. We believe that the members of the United States Supreme Court may have something like this in mind and considered that it might be just as well for them to render decisions once in a while that would be somewhat popular among the masses of the people. Of course, we have one or two judges on the bench—one anyway—whom we knew would sustain the cry of the people, and by his vote did do so—Judge Brandeis. Our good friend McReynolds, who was a member of Wilson's cabinet during the first administration, voted directly against the will of the administration and against the interest of the workers of the nation and in favor of the railroads because he registered his vote as declaring that the eight-hour law was unconstitutional, from his point of view. So you see there is something in the talk that is going around that a great many of the Wilson cabinet now, and in the past, are corporation men to the backbone. This is common rumor in Washington. Many labor men in Washington, and elsewhere, believe that the present Attorney-General Gregory, who succeeded McReynolds, is distinctly and openly a corporation man and an enemy of

Labor, and sometime later on in this Journal we will have something to say about some of the other members of the cabinet. How they came to be appointed by a man like Wilson, whether he had to do so through pledges or not, we do not know; but it is a well-established belief among Labor that a great many of the cabinet members are not by any means friends of Labor. But perhaps the United States Supreme Court had an object besides the one suggested above in declaring the Adamson law constitutional, because they also handed down an opinion which states that while the government has the power to regulate wages and hours, it also has the right to regulate other working conditions and to say when men shall work and how they shall work. To be brief and to be plain in the matter, the court expressed its opinion that it was within the power of the government to prevent men from striking; in fact, it established compulsory arbitration in so far as railroad work is concerned, or the court suggested that compulsory arbitration may be made legal.

It is about what some of us expected. Certain labor leaders of the American Federation of Labor were dilly-dallying around with the heads of the Brotherhoods, who were practically using them until they finally got what was coming to them—a pretty rotten decision, taking it as a whole. In the first place, hours and working conditions established through legislation are not the best thing for the labor movement, because those conditions can be set aside or reversed. Conditions established by a labor union, through the power of that union, or relations entered into between the labor union and the employer, usually remain until better working conditions are established. In other words, the unions do not go back—they go ahead, but to the decision establishing the eight-hour day is tacked on practically the statement that the government can really compel workers on the railroads to remain at work, and when one set of workers in this country can be forced to work, the same as soldiers are forced to carry the musket after they are sworn in, it does not take very long until this condition is extended to other employees, and we finally find a large percentage of the working people tangled up with or bound hand and foot to involuntary servitude; or, in other words, the same position that the slave was in prior to the civil war. It was indeed laughable to read in the papers a day or two after the decision was rendered that President Gompers and Secretary Morrison appeared before Attorney-General Gregory to protest against the decision of the United States Supreme Court in the railroad case. In the first place, Gregory had no more power in the situation than the man in the moon. In the next place Gregory was in sympathy with the decision of the court. In the next place Gompers and Morrison might have expected this. They had been lending all their efforts to the railroad workers during the last six or eight months and it was plain that something ought to come out of it, although the four big Brotherhoods had never paid one cent toward the establishment or maintenance of the American Federation of Labor, as they are not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and, in our opinion, they have never helped in any way, shape or manner any other organization of labor, and you would think from reading the papers that they were the entire American Federation of Labor. At least they made history and many leaders got considerable notoriety from the event, and perhaps, after all, that is worth something.

CORRESPONDENCE



D. J. Tobin, Esq., Indianapolis, Ind.:

Y Dear Mr. Tobin—I take the liberty of writing to you in regard to a proposition which is, I think, both vital and immediate.

Though not a member of the labor group, and I therefore address you with all humbleness, I have long believed that the labor movement stands as the main hope of democracy in this country. And I know that in particular the American Federation of Labor has been a great and effective instrument of progress, both for labor and the general public. Its recent service in defeating the Padgett amendment, in preventing the repeal of the eight-hour law for those employed by the government and on government contracts, in obtaining the Seamen's bill, in preventing compulsory arbitration, in opposing the espionage bill, etc., has again shown the conscience and power of the Federation as an active agent of civilization.

Political parties are essentially selfish. Reform and civic bodies are all right in their way, but they generally devote themselves to superficial movements, that do little harm, except to waste the energy of those who might be usefully employed. Supported and directed by the exploiter class, they are eternally trying to find some way to help the poor without interfering with the privileges of the rich. The church does not play a helpful part in the economic struggle; its tendency is to sustain privilege. But the labor group is essentially different; it stands out as the only organized body in which there is great hope—the only one that is ready to make sacrifices for the fundamental principles of democracy. The labor group is vital because it is not fighting for dividends and privileges, but for humanity's basic needs of the spirit as well as the body.

Within the last year a new menace to labor and to democracy has arisen. It is compulsory military service. Many men who are patriotic and disinterested are mistakenly standing for compulsory military service. Others, who are not so patriotic or disinterested, are also standing for it. I wonder if either of these groups, I wonder if you yourself have thought out what compulsory military service has meant to Europe, and what it will mean to the United States, and especially to the labor movement?

Whether we call it democracy or liberty, the best thing we have here in America is a national ideal toward which the progressive forces, and especially the labor movement, are constantly working. This ideal is that the citizen shall have the most possible freedom and initiative in thought and action and the best possible opportunity to make a living; and, at the same time, to develop along natural and constructive lines. This American ideal vigorously repudiates the old European system which forces the citizen into a rigid mold designed for him by the governing classes of society.

If the fight for democracy is to be won in this country we have got to keep one thought clear and one principle sacred. The initiative and

independence of the average man must be protected. It is the sole foundation of our democracy. The moment you find the American citizen disciplined to authority and trained to look for leadership to a superior class, at that moment you have lost democracy and with it all that is vital or valuable in American life.

You take a boy of eighteen or nineteen, at the time when he is just beginning to build the permanent structure of his character; you put him in a uniform and drill him; you make his body automatically obedient to the orders of his officer (generally a member of the privileged class); you subordinate his will and conscience to that of another person; you give him a thousand orders, to which he must respond a thousand times with unthinking reflex obedience. If you do this, I say, and the story of Germany proves it, you develop in that boy not only unthinking physical obedience to his officer, but unthinking obedience in general to authority, to that of the employer, the boss, the politician, the state, the force above him, whatever that force may be.

On the man who has gone through this process, I say, there is left an indelible impression, an impression stamped into his nature, which he will carry with him all through his life. If you make a machine of a man in one thing, you make him a machine in all things. And this is exactly what compulsory military service is intended to do. General O'Ryan, its principal advocate in New York State, says we must put the recruit "through the biological and social process by which he becomes a soldier." He says, "We must get our men so that they are machines, and this can only be done as the result of a process of military training." That is the ideal, and not only the ideal, but the immediate intention of the advocates of compulsory military service.

I am not against every necessary kind of defensive military preparation for this country. I am not an extremist. I value the safety of the United States as much as any member of the Security League, but I earnestly believe that, if we adopt the wholly unnecessary expedient of compulsory military service it will do for us substantially what it has done for Germany. It will cripple the initiative and independence of the average citizen, enslave labor and build up the mastery of the privileged, military and official classes. This is not a guess or a vague prophecy; it is simply the reasonable working out of a practical human law—a law that the governing classes of Germany have fully understood and employed to the limit of their ability.

On the 20th of February I received a letter from Professor Jacques Loeb. Professor Loeb, as you know, is today perhaps America's most distinguished biologist. He is the head of the department of biology of the Rockefeller Institute, a recipient of the Nobel prize, and a keen and practical thinker. I had asked him what, in his opinion, was the effect of military training in Germany and what would be its effect if introduced here. He replied:

"It is an actual experience in Germany that men who have received that drill are afterward much more willing tools of anybody whom they are liable to consider as belonging to the officer class or caste. The German junker has no difficulty with young men on his estates if they have served in the army. His mere imitation of the voice and manner of an officer who gives command at once cows his slaves into submission. This is the way by which the German landrat, or bureaucrat, in general, rules the masses. * * * The greatest danger of militarism lies exactly in the direction you indicate, the abolition of initiative and spirit

of freedom. Germany shows that even the highest development of modern science is not able to overcome the conditional reflexes produced by militaristic drill and by the glorification of the military intriguers and exploiters in nursery and school.

"I have been depressed over the recent developments in this country. I left Germany because I felt that I could not live in a regime of oppression such as Bismarck had created at the time I left Europe. When I reached America I felt like a free being. It is a keen disappointment to realize now that my sons are likely to face the same tyranny in this country, to which I had come in the hope that it would remain free from the curse of that personal despotism which finds its expression in a militaristic regime."

Many sincere believers in compulsory service point to France as a country where universal service and democracy have existed side by side. This is, to a large extent, true, although before the war democracy in France had begun to feel the effects of military service and there was a strong movement to abolish it, which was checked only by the German menace.

Let us admit that French democracy has survived in spite of military training; why has this been? There are three main reasons. In the first place, under Louis XIV and Napoleon the French had their experiences of militarism and imperialism. They discovered they were bad investments for the people and reacted strongly from them into democracy. In the second place, the whole thought of the French people was long ago very thoroughly impregnated with democracy by the great independent French writers and philosophers—Rabelais, Voltaire, Rousseau, Montaigne, Calvin and a score of others. The principles of these men still live in France; their thoughts have become the thoughts of the common people. They have filled France with a self-reliant democracy that even compulsory service cannot destroy. And finally, France had her terrific popular revolution, in which the working people shed their blood in rivers before the altar of freedom. That was only a little over a hundred years ago, and it made democracy a durable power in France, that nothing has so far been able to break.

But while France is practically immune from the effects of militarism, or was up to the present war, Germany and the United States are comparatively defenseless against it. Germany never had a real popular revolution, nor have we. Until recently Germany had not had her disease of imperialism. She is going through it now, while we are apparently at the beginning of our attack. And neither Germany nor the United States has ever developed a line of great popular democratic leaders, whose thought has profoundly affected the psychology of the nation. Military service has enslaved the German people; and yet, by nature, the Germans, since Caesar's time, have been a fierce and liberty-loving race. In time—it may take longer here than it did in Germany—military service will make the same mark on us. All nations are pretty much of the same clay and will act alike under similar conditions.

Of course, some may reply that we have here a republican and not a dynastic form of government; that we are protected by the fact that the ultimate political power is in the people's hands. This is true in theory, but intelligent people all over the world have come to realize that popular political machinery does not, in fact, mean popular power. The main power in the world is the economic power; and it does not

rest either in the hands of the general public nor in the labor group. In spite of popular government the moneyed class is, with us, still the governing class, and it is more integrated and aggressive here than in Germany. And the unresting demand for compulsory service, which is filling the country with clamor, comes almost exclusively from this class; and it has a good deal more class interest in it than real patriotism.

It is the same old story. These men, who are calling for the disciplining of the people through military service, are thinking more of defense of their own investments than of the country's borders. They are what Lincoln called "the advocates of the mud-sill theory." "A Yankee," said he, "who could invent a stronghanded man without a head would receive the everlasting gratitude of the mud-sill advocates." "According to that theory," said Lincoln, "a blind horse upon a treadmill is a perfect illustration of what a laborer should be—all the better for being blind, that he could not kick understandingly." The mud-sill theory is as typical of the American exploiter now as it was in 1859, when Lincoln spoke. But today there is a better chance of its fulfillment. Today the mud-siller has a definite program, backed by powerful interests and spread in the name of patriotism and national security.

The National Security League informs us that universal military service is necessary to defend the nation. This is pure, unadulterated bunk. With a good navy, ample coast defenses, mines, torpedoes, a standing army of a quarter of a million men and a moderately efficient militia, our country is as safe from invasion, and infinitely less likely to get into war, than if we forced every citizen into uniform and thoroughly trained him to kill. No one knows this better than the Wall street interests that are behind the campaign for compulsory service.

But these interests want something that cannot be obtained in any way except by forced service—and that is a meek and disciplined labor group that will make no trouble at home and will fight obediently to defend the American dollar abroad. If there must be war, in order to bring about conscription and the benefits that will accrue from it, Wall street is not unwilling that war should come. War will check the forward movement of labor, suppress the radical impulses of the nation and put the average citizen in his place—the place that the industrial absolutist and bureaucrat wants him to occupy.

The National Security League tells us that we cannot raise a standing army large enough for defensive purposes. The answer is, that the army at present treats the soldier like a slave, punishes him like a slave, teaches him nothing that will be useful to him when he goes back to civil life, and takes away his self-respect and initiative. If the army were (1) excluded from strike duty, (2) made civilized and democratic and (3) if it gave every boy who enlisted an educational course or taught him a trade, so that when he came out he would be a self-respecting, self-sustaining member of society, there would be no lack of enlistments. If this were done we would have a more efficient, loyal and democratic army; we would have a crack army of a quarter of a million men—and a waiting list to boot. It is not the temper of the people, but the stupidity and inefficiency of the army authorities themselves that is responsible for difficulty in raising a volunteer army in times of peace. In the hour of national danger there is no difficulty, even under present conditions.

Congression in time of peace (or in war except in a case of des-

perate necessity) is unthinkable in this American republic, for conscription is in essence slavery. It does not matter much whether the master is a private individual or an officer of the State. If you enslave a man you enslave him—whether it be by forcing him to work in a cotton field against his will, or by forcing him to enter the army and fight against his will. Both are slavery; the negation of liberty is the same; the only difference is the master. No man or State has a right to force a citizen to kill people against his will or conscience.

The advocates of compulsory service, however, call attention to the fact that Lincoln endorsed "the draft" in the civil war. They say that the volunteer system broke down; that the people of the North refused to enlist in sufficient quantities to carry on the war. This is essentially untrue. As a matter of fact, out of the four million males of military age in the North over a million volunteered and enlisted in the first year of the war. The enlistment was "oversubscribed," and Secretary of War Stanton sent out a notice that he had more volunteers than he wanted. Later on, when he asked for further enlistment, the bottom of the proposition had dropped out. The public could not be persuaded that Stanton really needed more men.

In '63 Lincoln endorsed compulsion, but even as he did so he realized that it was slavery, and defended it only on the ground of the North's desperate situation and because the South was using the same system. In a letter to the governor of New York he frankly damned the draft while he justified it. He said: "We are contending with an enemy who, as I understand, drives every able-bodied man he can reach into his ranks, very much as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen."

But the draft was a tragic failure. It filled the prisons with men who were outraged by its attack on liberty and conscience, and it only actually raised 61,947 men for the Union army. This was 2.3 per cent. of the total forces used by the North in the whole war, or 4.5 of the forces raised after the draft was authorized. If we add to these men actually drafted, the number of volunteer substitutes who took the place of drafted men we find that, under the most favorable interpretation, compulsion only produced one-tenth of the recruits raised by the North after the passage of the compulsion act.

It is an insult to American manhood for Wall street or the Security League to maintain that men will not rush to the defense of their country in time of need. If the country needed a million men tomorrow they would volunteer, as the Canadians did. If the government needs recruits now for the present crisis the President's call will bring them. And the fact that they volunteered, instead of being driven into the ranks "as a butcher drives bullocks into a slaughter-pen," will make them certainly no less efficient and loyal. If it is not the present, but future emergencies we are worrying about, let us at once enlarge our regular army and make our militia fit for real service.

But make no mistake about it; it is not the present crisis, or the country's military position of the future that the interests behind conscription have in mind. Germany's armies are surrounded, her navies bottled up. She could not ship a regiment to America if we invited her to. No, conscription is a great commercial policy; a carefully devised weapon that the exploiters are forging for their own protection at home, and in the interest of American financial imperialism abroad. Behind their statements about the physical advantages of military

training (which the best authorities deny) ; behind all this sentimental talk about the "democracy" of having the workman and the millionaire sleep in the same dog tent (which doesn't, as a matter of fact, happen, and wouldn't, to my mind, amount to anything if it did) ; behind this glorification of the Swiss army (which, in reality, is a pretty feudal and undemocratic army, used consistently to crush organized labor) ; behind the claim that compulsory service is the only democratic service, because it calls everybody to the colors at the same time in case of war (an arrangement that is economically and humanly unjust, because those on whom others depend should, as a matter of right, not go to war until there is real necessity, while the independent, foot-loose should go to war, and do, as a matter of fact, volunteer whenever there is a call) ; and back of the cry that America must have compulsory service or perish is a clearly thought-out and heavily backed project to mold the United States into an efficient, orderly nation, economically and politically controlled by those who know what is good for the people.

In this country so ordered and governed there will be no strikes, no surly revolt against authority, and no popular discontent. In it the lamb will lie down in peace with the lion, and he will lie down right where the lion tells him to. In it we will beat our swords into plowshares, or our plowshares into swords, in accordance with the will of the wisest and richest citizens of the republic. In it there will be government for the people, plenty of it, extending into every detail of life ; but there will be mighty little government of or by the people. In it the common man will gradually cease to be an American citizen and become an American subject. This, if we cut through the patriotic pretext and flag-waving propaganda, is the real vision of the conscriptionists—not of the many conscientious, mistaken followers of the movement, but of the few who devised it and are supplying the main sinews of war.

But it is not the vision of the American people—far from it—nor of the labor movement. Europe has abolished, or is abolishing, the divine right of kings, and our people know better than to set up in its place a new tyranny, the divine right of a state absolute controlled by a privileged class.

To the great purpose of courageously preserving what is most precious, in the country we love, organized labor has again and again shown its devotion. As an outsider who has stood by and watched the fight, helping in a small way and humbly from time to time when the privilege of doing so was accorded, I have faith that, at this parting of the ways, labor will again rise to a national crisis and keep the country true to democracy.

Faithfully yours,

AMOS PINCHOT.

ROSSLAND, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Mr. D. J. Tobin, Indianapolis, Ind. :

Dear Sir and Brother—Your letter received and I wish to thank you for the encouraging words you took time to write to Master Peter Ife. The little fellow is surely pleased over it, for it is some-

thing he will prize and remember through life. These are the boys we need to encourage while they are young so they will grow up to be men, with a mind of their own, with backbone enough to stand up for their own rights.

I also wish to state that Local No. 364 has called off their strike with a complete victory and with

the well wishes of their employers. In fact, we have been congratulated by several of our employers for the manly and businesslike way the committee conducted their strike. But when the members, one and all, have confidence in their strike committee and stick together and back their committee to the letter, the committee can go right ahead and be sure of success.

I again wish to thank you for your advice and help during our strike.

With best wishes, I remain,
Fraternally yours,
SAM MORRISH, Sec.-Treas.

INGERSOLL'S VISION OF THE FUTURE

"A vision of the future rises:
* * * I see a world where thrones have crumbled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

"I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of the earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race.

"I see a world at peace, adorned with every form of art, with music's myriad voices thrilled, while lips are rich with words of love and truth; a world in which no exile sighs, no prisoner mourns; a world on which the gibbet's shadow does not fall; a world where labor reaps its full reward; where work and worth go hand in hand, where the poor girl, trying to win bread with a needle—the needle that has been called 'the asp for the breast of the poor'—is not driven to the desperate choice of crime or death, of suicide or shame.

"I see a world without the beggar's outstretched palm, the miser's heartless, stony glare, the piteous wail of want, the livid lips of lies, the cruel eyes of scorn.

"I see a race without disease of flesh or brain—shapely and fair, married harmony of form and function, and, as I look life lengthens, joy deepens, love canopies the earth; and over all, in the great dome shines the eternal star of human hope."

KAUFMANN TROUBLE SETTLED

The Kaufmann trouble is now at an end, with satisfaction and equitable agreement by Chauffeurs' Local Union No. 255.

This happy conclusion came as the result of a regular meeting recently held of the Iron City Central Trades Council, at which the matter of the Kaufmann controversy was given attention.

After a debate covering two hours, the entire matter was referred to the executive board, with full power to act. Under the direction of Robert J. McGrath, president of the Iron City Central Trades Council, the following committee was selected to handle the negotiations: Albert Norrington, Peter Bollenbacher, P. J. Ward and Harry Saddler. The negotiations of importance began with Edgar Kaufmann, representing the "Big Store" interests. The most important factor was H. C. Schacht, business agent of the Chauffeurs' Union.

The net result of this conference was that union men secured concessions very satisfactory to them. The action of this committee will undoubtedly be reflected in the future attitude of fairness to organized labor.—National Labor Journal.

Local No. 738, Piano Movers of Chicago, were recently locked out while conferences on their wage scale were taking place between the local and the employers. We have just learned, however, that the matter has been settled and the men have returned to work with a substantial increase in wages and better working conditions.

Organizer Farrell, who was so seriously ill for several months, is back on the job again and working hard in Cleveland trying to straighten out affairs there. He assures the Editor that he is in perfect health; never felt more like working in his life than he does at the present time. We are glad to know this, as there is plenty of work for everyone this year.

During the month of April we received per capita tax on seventy-five thousand members—a new high record for the International Union. We issued about twenty charters to new unions during the month. We expect perhaps that about one-half of those new charters will be surrendered inside the year, due to the fact that just as soon as men become organized into a union, and often before they are thoroughly organized, they want to double their wages and insist on fighting, with the result that the union is bursted up, leaving no chance to organize again in that territory for several years.

Official Magazine
of the
International Brotherhood
of Teamsters, Chauffeurs
Stablemen and Helpers
of America

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All orders should be sent through the Secretary of the Local Union to

THOMAS L. HUGHES, Secretary

222 East Michigan Street

Indianapolis, Indiana